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ABSTRACT

Dependency theory, often used to explain continued domination of Third World economics by Western powers, argues that the continued Western control of Third World news flow and even mass media content can be explained by looking at the structures that control mass media institutions. One of these structures, the journalism education system in Africa, is directly modeled after those in the West, particularly those in the United States. Curriculum, texts, faculty, and even research methods in these programs are based on Western assumptions in spite of attempts to Africanize, and competency in a European language (usually English or French) is required for admission to any mass communication program in Africa, even below the university level. Debate over journalism education in Africa has been vigorous, focusing currently on its lack of relevance--that is, its non-African basis. For dependency theorists, the scholarly detachment that forms the basis of Western higher education is out of touch with the social realities of the Third World. The difficulties many African journalists have with the American model are related to two basic conflicts: the struggle between those supporting the gatekeeper/objectivity role and those supporting the advocacy role, as a more appropriate model for developing nations; and the debate over deciding "what is news." African journalism programs are expected to produce journalists who will support development policies of African governments, while Western journalism programs see journalists as independent and even adversarial to government. However, alternative models, which are conceived within a socialist rather than a capitalist political structure, have not been successfully realized, and the American model of professional journalism education, with its emphasis on practical training and technical/professional performance is still widely accepted in Africa. (Forty-three footnotes are appended.) (NKA)

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Dependency and Journalism Education in Africa

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ABSTRACT

Dependency and Journalism Education in Africa

This paper examines journalism education in Africa as it relates to dependency theory, which is often used to explain continued domination of Third World economics by Western powers. Dependency theorists also argue that the continued Western control of Third World news flow and even mass media content can be explained by looking at the structures that control mass media institutions.

A structure that has received little attention is the Third World journalism education system. This paper shows that in Africa most of these programs are modeled after those in the West, particularly those in the United States. Curriculum, texts, faculty and even the research methods in these programs are based on Western assumptions. This has caused difficulties as these African programs are expected to produce journalists who will participate in development programs and support development policies of African governments. Western journalism programs see journalists as independent of and even adversaries to government.

Efforts to provide an alternative model have been unsuccessful for a variety of reasons, including lack of resources. It is suggested, however, that African journalists find the Western model of journalism education useful in supporting their claims to autonomy.

Dependency and Journalism Education in Africa

Although dependency theorists first drew attention through their criticism of economic dominance of the Third World by the West, they quickly extended their attacks to "social and cultural imperialism."[1] Latin America and Africa have been the focus of these critics, now found in most communication research centers. Dependency theory is widely used in the Third World as the basis of criticism of Western media domination.

This study will focus on Africa, specifically on the education and socialization of journalists for the African media. Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, was the area most dominated by the Western World in political, social and even cultural terms for the longest period. Even social and religious customs (e.g., female circumcision, polygamy) were suppressed by Western pressures. African languages themselves have been supplanted in government, higher education and mass media in much of post-independence Africa. Unable to break away from communication patterns established by the colonial powers, Africa has supported the call for a New World Information Order.[2]

Despite criticism of the West's continuing influence over African media, there has been little effort to change journalism education programs in Africa. Almost all are patterned after those in the West, particularly those in the United States. Some of Africa's journalism programs could be moved to the United States with hardly a change in curriculum, texts or instructors. Only in recent years has the African Council on

Communication Education (ACCE), the only continental organization of journalism educators, begun to make progress toward making African journalism training relevant to Africa's social and cultural situation. The ACCE hopes that this will lead eventually to African values playing the dominant role in African mass media.[3]

African Education: A Western Pattern

As James Coleman, the political scientist, put it a quarter of a century ago, "Western education has been the most revolutionary of all influences operating in sub-Saharan Africa since the imposition of European rule."[4] Many Africans contend Western educators consciously set out to destroy existing African educational structure. They were seen inappropriate in the new societies the West wanted to establish in Africa. Mazrui in academic arguments[5] and Ngugi in his passionate novels[6] have charged that the colonial powers changed African education from an instrument for promoting social stability and continuity to one for promoting and controlling social change.

The colonial educational systems were taken directly from European models.[7] Only in those academic areas where there were no clear European models could even other Western influences enter the African educational structure. One of these areas was journalism education. Kwame Nkrumah established an American style journalism program in 1958 at the Ghanaian Institute of Journalism. It was in Nigeria, however, that a journalism program was first linked to a university in newly independent Africa. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Nigeria political leader and editor, believed the British model university was too academic

to meet Africa's needs. In the early 1960s, Azikiwe imported the American land-grant university model and established it as the new University of Nigeria at Nsukka in Eastern Nigeria. Michigan State University, with substantial U.S. aid, supplied the structure, staff and much of the curriculum, including a journalism program.[8] UNESCO adopted the American model of journalism education in a university setting. By 1970 there were UNESCO-supported journalism programs at universities in Cameroon, Kenya, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire. Not all these were degree-level programs. They did, however, attract African students from other countries so their influence began to spread throughout the continent.

Africanizing the Media

Efforts to change the colonial educational systems were not merely an African protest against the colonial regimes. The colonial educational systems were simply not capable of providing the trained people needed for rapid Africanization of public and private institutions. Until independence almost all African journalists had received their training on the job. A few were enrolled in formal apprenticeships systems such as that operated by Argus Newspapers in Southern Africa. Most were taken on as assistants by European-owned publications, usually to help produce material for African audiences. A good many future African political leaders learned on the job as they struggled to publish newspapers and news sheets that "spread the fire of nationalism."

At independence Africans realized they needed large numbers of trained journalists to take over the communications channels from

Europeans. More were needed to staff new facilities developed with United Nations and other funds. Communications was considered vital to development and ambitious plans were drafted to expand print, broadcasting and film media.

African Journalism Education Programs: Two Debates

By 1972 there were at least 30 journalism education programs in sub-Saharan Africa.[9] Arguments soon arose concerning the appropriate locale for this training. Ezenta Eze, then head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, told a seminar that "University graduates invariably perform better." Replied John Laney, British Director of the professionally-oriented Nigerian Institute of Journalism, "A university degree separates a person from the man in the street and is often therefore a handicap for a journalist".[10] Sydney Head, who has taught in several African journalism programs, said it was inevitable that a university degree would be a requirement for African journalists. Intelligent, highly motivated individuals will get a university degree because they realize it leads to status and high income, he said. If the mass media want intelligent and highly motivated people, they must recruit these university graduates.[11] Journalism educators and professionals interviewed in Africa in 1985-86 by one of the authors said a university degree or a diploma from a university program has become essential for advancement to many media positions.

If the debate over the locale of journalism education in Africa seems to be receding, the argument over its lack of relevance--that is, its non-African basis--is growing. In 1975 this was a major force behind the formation of the African

Council on Communication Education (ACCE) by a group of African journalism educators. Seth Adagala, first ACCE coordinator, said mass communications in Africa needed training programs designed by Africans to fit the needs of the continent. "As a matter of urgency," he said, "a communications centre should be established in Africa, with international support, to collect and disseminate information on media development, research, communication training, curriculum design, and to produce directories of media institutions and organisations."[12]

Ten years later, in the mid-1980s, the ACCE is still attempting to establish at least a regional--and it hopes a continental--mass communications center in Africa. Meanwhile, the non-African structures, curriculum, materials and faculty backgrounds found in the existing African mass communication programs reinforce Western cultural influences in the African mass media that dependency theorists decry.

While admitting these problems, many African leaders are cautious about changing the existing educational models. Mazrui suggests a reason for this caution. He suggests many African leaders have found it safer to adopt the Western educational model along with its non-African curriculum, particularly in such sensitive areas as journalism. The price of Africanizing the syllabus is to sensitize that syllabus, he points out.[13] Using such books as Reporting for the Print Media by American Fred Fedler or The Practice of Journalism by Britain's John Dodge may well reflect the absence of suitable texts by African or other Third World authors. But, like the European languages that so many African nations have retained, these books are

politically neutral. While they do discuss such sensitive issues as censorship and the role of the press, at least it will be in a non-African setting.

Communication Research: Another Debate

The debate over "Africanizing" the curriculum is similar to the debate over "professionalizing" the journalism curriculum in American universities. Critics of African university education contend it is not only too foreign but also irrelevant to the African social and cultural situation. Mazrui points out that this criticism attacks the very ethos of Western higher education. Such education puts special emphasis on the rational and therefore on neutral universalism. To be scholarly in the Western academic tradition is to be scientific and therefore detached from the social causes of the day. A real question is, can Africa afford this type of education as the basis of its university programs? The question cannot be avoided in those programs developed to help solve current social problems.[14]

It is just this scholarly detachment that has brought some of the harshest criticism to communication and journalism education from dependency theorists. Beltrans, a Latin American dependency theorist in communication, says the entire discipline is out of touch with the social realities of the Third World. He argues that the scientific study of communication is entirely based on American social assumptions.[15] In short, the entire way of thinking about mass communication and its role in society is culture bound to North America. At the level of professional journalism this is, of course, the argument of those who support a New World Information Order to end Western dominance of news

and information. Beltrans simply extends the attack into communication education and to the research on which it is based. Rejecting the claim that research can be culturally neutral, Beltrans finds the roots of communication research in U.S. efforts to counter perceived propaganda threats in World War II. The discipline then matured in a stable, satisfied and self-confident post-war America that promoted its social and cultural values as models for the rest of the world. The U.S. mass media spread these values, easily overcoming the war-devastated competition. These values and their cultural assumptions became a powerful argument for accepting and promoting the status quo, said Halloran.[16]

While not going into the reasons behind specific research approaches in Africa, an African surveying mass communication research concerning the continent found it to be narrowly based. There is little concern with rural or traditional communication and he questions the use of survey research techniques in the African setting. He agrees with Mazrui, though, that the African focus of a study rather than its research approach is what African leaders may resist.[17] Head pointed out that any survey of African broadcast audiences could cause embarrassment since it would show many Africans listening to overseas news broadcasts.[18]

African Journalism Texts

Competency in a European language is required for admission to any mass communication program in Africa, even below university level. Teachers use a European language in classes and texts are in either English or French. In an attempt to

break away from imported texts, two books produced at leasty partly by Africans for mass communication education programs have appeared in recent years. Both are basic journalism reporting-editing texts. The first, published in 1982 by Ralph Akinfeleye of the University of Lagos, is structured much like an American text.[19] It tries to cover reporting to production in 125 pages. The book uses African examples and has a chapter surveying journalism education in Africa and another on the pitfalls and responsibilities that African journalists must recognize. Still, the author, a University of Missouri graduate, provides "The Journalist's Creed" of a late dean of the Missouri journalism program as a guideline for African journalists. He also uses the standard "definitions" of news found in American journalism texts. The bibliography is heavily European and American, although some Third World works are cited. Media models cited for excellence are American or British. There is little or nothing on development journalism.

The other text, Reporting Africa, was published in 1985.[20] It also tries to cover many topics in less than 200 pages, including photography, feature writing, business reporting and "Women in Journalism." Of its 14 contributors, 12 are Africans and the others have extensive African journalism experience. However, 10 of the 14 have American or British degrees or European journalism experience. The "Foreward" for the book is by the Zimbabwe Minister of Information, N.M. Shamuarira. The Minister calls for an African approach to journalism and, representing a nation officially committed to egalitarianism, provides some rhetoric that would be out of place in a Western

journalism text. The Minister calls on African journalists to be "committed to the African revolution," but does not elaborate. He does support the New World Information Order but also opposes censorship, presumably by government.

Reporting Africa is being promoted and distributed by the African Council on Communication Education (ACCE). It can be considered a fair reflection of attitudes of many Africans involved in journalism and mass communication education in Africa. To what extent does it differ from texts found in an American mass communication program, especially in the professional values it cites?

There is an effort to use African examples although some from the BBC and other non-African sources slip in. Michael Traber, a New York University Ph.D. with many years in Africa, tries to go beyond the usual basic definitions of news. He recommends using "alternative" news values, "alternative social actors" (non-prominent people often make good news and feature sources), "alternative language" (don't always use the inverted pyramid style), and an "alternative framework for time" (process rather than event-oriented stories). He suggests there are stories to be found in rural areas, but in general it is the standard approach to "What is News?" He concludes by urging African journalism students to develop "our own forms of journalism" and his bibliography cites some dependency theory references and the UNESCO report on the New World Information Order.

The one chapter that would not be found in a standard American journalism text is "Covering the District" by Edward Mamutse. The author, from the Zimbabwean Ministry of Informa-

tion, is writing about the work of a district information officer in a rural area. In a critique of Reporting Africa at a September, 1985, workshop for African journalists in Zimbabwe, it was suggested that any new edition should point out the difference between Mamutse's "rural reporter" and a journalist. Those at the workshop supported the standard Western distinction between journalist and public relations practitioner.

Another of Reporting Africa's authors, Paul Fauvet, chose professional journalistic values over government's desire to suppress bad news. The author, who works for the Mozambique government's news agency, said suppressing bad news is foolish as well as non-professional since bad news will be reported by other, perhaps less friendly agencies. He does believe it is acceptable to report government news and to have an editorial policy supporting government policy. In the standard statement of the Western journalistic ethic, however, Fauvet insists that news reporting and editorial policy be strictly separated.

Paul Ansah of the University of Ghana, another Reporting Africa contributor, states the ethic of the journalist independent of government even more forcefully. Even if threatened with jail or detention, says Ansah, an African journalist must not reveal a confidential source. Ansah, who has been jailed himself for his reporting, asserts that even a patriotic journalist may find his professional ethics supersede official demands.

Professional Socialization

What is suggested by many contributors to these two texts is that there is a world-wide professional fraternity of journa-

lists which shares many values and ethics. These values and ethics should, therefore, be culturally neutral. However, this has been rejected by those journalists and scholars who argue that inherent in acquiring professional skills is acquisition of values and attitudes considered professionally appropriate. This view has been widely accepted in journalism for many years[21] and its adoption by dependency theorists is not surprising. The professional ideal assumes that objectivity is, nevertheless, possible in the mass media as well as desireable. This is, of course, fiercely contested even among Western journalists, particularly by "New Journalism" advocates.

Golding rejects this notion of the "neutral professional communicator" as foreign to communication patterns in traditional societies. "Traditional communication processes... tended in general to be so closely wedded to social and political processes that the very act of receiving and transmitting messages called for some display of agreement and acceptance," he says. Golding believes inculcating the standard of non-purposive, professional ideology of the fourth estate is particularly out of place in a developing Third World society. The traditional communicator was not neutral or objective, Golding says. He deliberately shaped the messages and was responsible for making them acceptable. This, says Golding, is committed or development journalism. Imposed on this is the non-purposive, professional ideology of Western "objective" journalism. "Thus," says Golding, "a natural inclination to see journalism as socially purposive is given a guilt complex by training in the creed and practice of objective reporting as

preached and conducted by European and American media."[22]

Continuing contacts with Western journalists help to reinforce these professional values among African journalism students and journalists. For example, third year students at the University of Dakar's CESTI (Center for Information Studies) spend some time in France or Quebec. The top journalism students at Nairobi University annually visit German media and journalism training programs. Costs are paid by the Western governments. Britain, the United States and other countries regularly provide funds to African journalists for study tours of Western media and journalism schools. There is a continuous stream of American journalism educators visiting African journalism programs with the help of government grants.

Western journalism values are also reinforced through constant reading of European and American publications by both journalism students and professional journalists in Africa. Golding found in 1974 that Time and Newsweek were the most frequently read publications among Nigerian broadcast journalists.[23] In 1986 Dare reported the same publications were the favorites among News Agency of Nigeria journalists.[24] African journalists and journalism students frequent British, American and French cultural centers even in the Socialist African countries. These centers are invariably comfortable, well stocked with Western periodicals and provide publications and reading lists to journalism schools on request. In 1986 alone the U.S. Information Service provided the Nairobi University School of Journalism with Editor and Publisher, Broadcasting, Journalism Quarterly, and World Press Review. USIS also paid for shipping almost complete sets

of Journalism Quarterly, Journalism Educator, Journalism Monographs, and Public Relations Journal to the Nairobi School. The School's reading room received Time, Newsweek, The Economist, Sunday Times of London, and the International Herald Tribune. The only Eastern bloc publication received was the Democratic Journalist. The only African publication from outside Kenya was the Daily News of Tanzania, which arrived sporadically.

Tunstall says Western notions of professionalism are built into the Anglo-American media and exposure to these media is exposure to the professional values of their journalists.[25] Hachten agrees. The European-owned newspapers in Africa as well as those flown in from overseas, he contends, "provided important models of what journalism could be."[26]

Those debating advocacy vs. objectivity models of journalism should keep in mind one important difference between models in the United States and the Third World. Advocacy journalism in the American tradition sprang from the Progressive muckrackers and tends to be attached to causes and detached from political parties and institutions.[27] In the Third World advocacy journalism means support for development and almost always for governments that claim to be leading economic and social development. African journalists may contend that this advocacy model includes the right to expose or at least report development programs that are not working, but in reality this is not often the case. In their attempt to define development journalism in Africa, Domatob and Hall found that "under the banner of development journalism, African politicians in most states

control the media for their own political goals."[28]

Still, many African journalists, and especially African journalism students, continue to question the objective journalism model. While recognizing the difficulties of advocacy journalism in the African setting, they see it as a more relevant model for a developing society. Twenty years ago, Frank Barton of the International Press Institute (IPI) saw this in his African journalism classes. He found a "clash of loyalties between journalism and what might be called the African ideal."[29] David Barry, Director of the Inter-African Centre of Studies on Rural Radio at Ougadougou in West Africa, sees this ideal in an African communicator who is not an objective journalist but "a development agent".[30] Barry and others call for an alternative model of journalism education to replace the Western model that dominates Africa.

An Alternative Model of Journalism Education for Africa

This alternative model, as presented by Barry in West Africa and M.A. Maganga, former Director of the Tanzania School of Journalism in East Africa, is clearly to be within a Socialist rather than a capitalist political structure. Barry supports "rational planning and a socially determined media system." Maganga, in a 1980 article, states the goals of his program.[31] Besides its professional training objectives, the Tanzania School of Journalism desires to "educate the students so as to make them capable of understanding and analyzing the social, political cultural and economic role of journalism and mass communication in the process of Socialist development."

Barry rejects African journalism training programs based on

Western models as irrelevant because they "too often merely reproduced the schemes of Western schools which are designed for different needs and which, by cultivating an elitest attitude, attract few vocations towards communication for the masses." Maganga, a member of the African Council on Communication Education (ACCE), did not specifically reject other journalism training models as irrelevant to Africa. Both Barry and Maganga make it clear, however, that their African journalism programs are to produce graduates different from those turned out by Western-model schools. Maganga wants a graduate who will be "a skillful communicator, an understanding politician and a life-long communicator." Barry emphasizes commitment tc rural journalism. His graduate "must accord only a secondary place to pure information. He is a development technician and field agent whose communication techniques form part of the practical tools needed for rural development."

To produce this new communicator, Barry and Maganga include a good deal of political philosophy in their programs. Barry states that the purpose of such courses is to "reinsert" into African journalism education "the perspective of collective action." Tanzania's curriculum appears more openly political, including in its Development Studies syllabus such topics as "Class Struggle" and "The Collapse of Capitalism."

Such direct statements of political values tend to disturb Western journalists and journalism educators. Political values are rarely stated explicitly by Western journalists or in Western journalism programs. Nevertheless, Gans points out, Western political values are no less enduring than those expli-

citly stated in other settings. The Western journalist, particularly in the United States, thinks of himself as a technically proficient and value neutral social scientist rather than a committed supporter of any social or political view. Dependency theorists and others may argue that this is a mythical role existing only in the minds of these Western journalists. It is, however, a powerful and influential professional value in those minds.[32]

A close look at the Tanzania journalism program suggests that this specific statement of social and political goals may be the chief difference between the so-called Western model of journalism education and the "alternative model." The Tanzania school rejected an effort by the ruling political party to insert political education directly in the journalism courses. Also, the Development Studies courses are taught as theory and history and do not advocate any particular political view as appropriate for journalists. Despite party pressures, the Tanzania school has won the right to control its curriculum. Other ties to the political structure have also been weakened. In order to be admitted to the Tanzania journalism program an applicant needs a recommendation from a party branch, but party officials provide such recommendations on request. Students must join a party cell at the school and "play an active role," but these groups have become general discussion groups and social clubs. Such Western philosophies as the free marketplace for ideas compete with the New World Information Order in class discussions. All rejected any suggestion that journalists should be constrained from criticizing government policies or projects.[33]

In 1986 three instructors at the Tanzania school held diplomas from programs in New Delhi and East Berlin which tend to be anti-Western in orientation.[34] The school also had a tutor in photojournalism and current affairs from East Germany. Balancing that were two instructors with M.A. degrees from U.S. universities (Maryland and Minnesota) and another with a diploma from Nairobi University. The Director at the time was a graduate of education programs in Britain and The Netherlands. To overcome the severe shortage of texts and journals, staff members use materials provided by the U.S. Information Service. A program of exchange visits with Nairobi University was inaugurated in 1986, indicating no serious ideological conflicts between the two schools. One Tanzania School of Journalism said, "You could take a graduate from either school and he or she could work comfortably in either Kenya or Tanzania."

Third World countries which continue to perceive themselves under threat by the West, such as Cuba, are unlikely to weaken the emphasis on political ideology.[35] Acceptance of the Western model of journalism education with its perceived Western values is also unlikely in these countries. African liberation movements, however, use Western-oriented programs as well as those in Socialist countries to train their public information officers. SWAPO (Southwest Africa People's Organization) has sent individuals to journalism programs in Britain and both SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa have ties to the African Council on Communication Education.

Conclusion

Criticism of Western domination of the flow of information

to, from and even within Africa and much of the Third World has brought the call for a New World Information Order. Similar Western domination of journalism education has brought calls for new models of journalism education. The Tanzanian News Agency Director said in 1985 that Anglo-American journalism values tended to dominate even the way African journalists think about Africa.[36] Sitaram points out that the social science basis of Western communication theory would accept this since there is an assumption that communications exist to change behavior. In the humanist tradition, messages should be used only to provide information for the audience, not to change their behavior without their thoughtful consent.[37]

The Third World is also disturbed by the failure of the mass media to contribute strongly to social and economic development. Existing programs serve media produced almost exclusively for urban elites.[38] New patterns of communication to cut across Third World social barriers and speed development were needed.[39] These required a new model for training Third World journalists. These new journalists would practice "development journalism" and, ideally, be free of Western values.

A major problem is that development journalism remains a vague concept charged with political rhetoric.[40] Third World and Socialist journalists, reacting to the 1980 UNESCO Report, sought a definition of "professional journalism" that would provide the basis for a concept of development journalism.

However, their list of "Principles" merely repeats code words (e.g., a call for "social transformation" of society) that have been used so often in the debate over the New World Information Information Order.[42] There is no sign that the Third World has found them useful as the basis for a new model of journalism education.

It is the stress on practical training and technical/professional performance that has made American-model journalism lism education widely acceptable in Africa and much of the Third World. The model's call for fairness and balance are accepted by most journalists although definitions will vary. The professional values of objectivity and freedom from government restraint within the American model are more difficult to maintain in the Third World setting. They are by and large endorsed by journalists in various social settings, however, perhaps because they provide autonomy at minimum risk.

Still, Third World journalists remain uncomfortable with this model. It assumes that journalists will frequently take an adversarial role in relation to government. In many developing areas, certainly in most of Africa, governments control and even operate most of the mass media. Thus, journalists who criticize government are criticizing their employers. Also, governments in developing areas are usually the only viable source of programs and funds for development. There is rarely an active political opposition. Thus, a

critical journalist is rarely given the opportunity of supporting one program as better than another. The choice is almost always between becoming an advocate or a critic of the only policies and programs that are put forth.

We should recognize, however, that the difficulties many African journalists have with the American model of professional journalism are related to two basic conflicts within that model. As Janowitz points out, there has been a constant struggle between those supporting the gatekeeper-objectivity role and those supporting the advocacy role. The advocacy role is little discussed in journalism classes in Africa because it has to be practiced in the framework of sanctioned but suspect "developmental journalism" or at considerable personal risk. The other basic conflict is over, as Gans put it in his title, "Deciding What's News." In the United States, government and other organizations try through public relations and available pressures to influence the decisions of the news media. Gans attempts to ease if not solve the problem by calling for "Multiperspectival News."[43] It is an attempt to give more weight to the views of non-journalists in "deciding what's news."

African journalists, like journalists elsewhere, resist government efforts to influence their media. They often join with government, however, in calling on international news

agencies and news media to get more balanced coverage of their society. The conflicts, like the values, are part of the professional and educational models.

Despite these conflicts and despite criticism by dependency theorists and development advocates, the Western model of professional journalism and the American model of professional journalism education are widely accepted in Africa. Even in states where a single leader or single political party is in control, journalists continue to be educated within this model. The Western cultural and social values that come with this model are, for whatever reasons, apparently accepted by African journalists despite some discomfort. Dependency theorists and development advocates have been unable to develop a more accep- acceptable model of journalism education for Africa. It to be seen if this well-established model of journalism education can be flexible enough to answer its critics as well as the development needs of African societies.

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NOTES

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